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The Vatican: Ukraine's Fiercest Enemy: RADYANSKA UKRAINA reproduces in four instalments (9,10,11 & 13 December) a recently-published anti-Vatican brochure by P. Karmansky who is said to be a former Ukrainian Catholic and student of the Russian college under the Vatican. The intemperate language used to describe and denounce the Vatican's activities is in many instances comparable to that reserved for the Nazis during the last war and the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalists now. Intrigue, debauchery, persecution, mass murder and rape are the descriptive nouns and adjectives punctuating the lurid tales of past and recent papal affairs. Fascism of the Mussolini and Hitler brand is said to characterize the Pope's political line now. Obviously written for the benefit of the Ruthenian Catholics inhabiting part of the West Ukrainian provinces, the brochure traces Ukrainian-Catholic hostility to the Middle Ages when the Roman Catholic Church was fighting (vela borotbu) both the Greek Orthodox and Mohammedan creeds at the same time. Open enmity is said to have been generated by the Vatican's first attempts to Catholicize the western Ukrainians "by crude force and persecution" as the initial step toward the conversion of the whole of Russia. As Pope Urban VIII reportedly declared in the 17th Century: "Through you, my Ruthenians, I intend to Catholicize the entire East" (Cherez vas, moi Rusyny, ya spodyvayusya navenuty tsiliy skhid). This reference to the Church's intentions, however, is a paragon of politeness and refinement in comparison with the author's treatment of other aspects of Vatican business.

Analyzing the development of the Vatican since the formation of the "Papal Church realm" (papska tserkovna oblast) in the middle of the Eighth Century, the brochure sets out to "prove" that, first, the activities of the Catholic Church has always been guided by political and mercenary rather than religious considerations and, second, that Catholicism is a creed alien to the Ukrainians, even to the members of the Uniat Church. The "facts" marshalled in this narrative include confessions made by Ukrainian defectors from the Catholic fold as well as admissions and quotations from non-Ukrainian sources. The author begins by stressing the point that the Christian dogma of the Catholic Church had long since yielded first place to the temporal concept of "heaven on earth"--for the ruling classes and the Church hierarchy--with the "kingdom of heaven" (tsarstvo nebesne) reserved for the submissive and exploited masses as a reward for a lifetime of subjection to the powers that be.

The Ukrainian people, it is asserted, have been treated as the black sheep of the Catholic flock, and to drive a wedge (rozkoluvaty) between them and the Great Russian people was one of the basic aims of the Vatican's "drive to the East." But that is only one aspect of the over-all pictures says the author, and it is high time the Ukrainian people realized how they rank in the Church's estimation as a nation. In his report to Pope Benedict XV on the situation in Eastern Galicia, the Apostolic Nuncio in Warsaw, Ratti (later pope Pius XI), is said to have stated that

there is no such thing as the Ukraine, that the Ukrainian question is merely a diversionary struggle against Poland and that, by supporting the Ukrainians, the Vatican only compromises itself.

#### Ukrainian version:

niyakoi Ukrainy nemaye, shcho ukrainske pytannya o tse tilky diversiyna borotba proty Polshi, i shcho, pidtry-muyuchi ukraintsiv, Vatikan tilky komprometuye sebe.

The struggle of the Ukrainian people against "the fiercest strangler of all their aspirations" (naylutishiy dushtel usikh ikh pragnen), the Catholic Church, is said to have been reflected also in Bogdan Khmelnytsky's rebellion of the 17th century, and later in the works of the Ukrainian revolutionary writers T. Shevchenko and Ivan Franko:

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The Khmel'nitsky movement was sweeping from the Ukrainian land the Catholicism that was hated by the people... In his poem "Ivan Gus", Shevchenko says about the Roman Pope: "A pampered monk sits on the apostolic throne."

Ukrainian version:

Khmel'nichyna zmyvala z ukrainskoi zemli nenavystniy narodovi katolytsyzm... V svoei poemy "Ivan Gus" Shevchenko govoryt pro papu rym'skogo: "Na apostolskim prestoli chernets godovanni sydyt."

One of the characteristic features of this violent attack on the Catholic Church is that no one and nothing is spared. Vatican policy and the personal lives of the Popes are fitted into a single somber picture and equally abused. Instanced in the brochure are a few "typical examples" of crime, moral turpitude and other "un-Christian" conduct attributed to the Popes themselves. Following are a few of the quotations presented by the author as authentic information on the personal behavior of some of them.

1. Pope John XXIII was accused of 70 crimes ranging from murder to raping 300 nuns.

(Papa Ioann XXIII obvynuvachuvavsya z 70 zlochynakh, poschynayuchy vid ubyvstv i kinchayuchy zgvaltuvanniam 300 monakhyn)

2. Benedict IX, having poisoned Pope Damasius and become Pope himself, sold the Papal tiara to Gregory VI.  
(Benedikt IX, otruiivshi papu Damazia, sam stav papoyu, potim prodav papsku tiaru Grygoriu VI)

3. Pope Alexander VI Borgia made his own daughter Lucretia his concubine .... His son Ceasar killed his brother Giovanni and himself lived with his sister Lucretia.  
(Papa Oleksandr VI Bordzhia zrobyv svoeyu nalozhnitseyu ridnu dochku Lukretsii ... Iogo syn Tsesar ubyv svogo brata Dzhiovanni i sam zhyv s svoeyu sestroyu Lukretsieyu)

Treatment of the Vatican as a world-wide organization, though similar in the intemperance of language, is considerably more expansive. Such unlawful activities as the "sale of indulgences" (torgivlya indulgentsiami) and other forms of traffic in ecclesiastical preferment (simony) are referred to as routine Papal conduct and lumped into the same category with the Vatican's "arch reactionary" politics in the international arena. The "working partnership" with Mussolini's fascism and later with Hitler's Nazism is now superseded by the Pope's complete subservience to U.S. imperialism. A black-handed slap is administered also in this connection to the Social Democrats and right-wing Socialists, "the worst traitors of progressive mankind and the working class," for working hand-in-glove with the Vatican.

When Marx and Engels first founded the theory of scientific Communism in the middle of the last century, says Karmansky, the Vatican was quick to perceive in it the latent danger to its own existence and to throw the entire weight of its authority into the fight against the international workers' movement everywhere. "It was Christ, not Marx and Engels--the Popes shouted--who first proclaimed the equality of men." Debunking this dictum as false and hypocritical, the author goes on to show that the Church's real attitude toward social progress belies such professed noble sentiments. Thus Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) who was particularly disturbed by Marx' and Engels' writings is reported to have delivered the following message "against the labor movement, democracy, science and art:"

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It is the duty of every sovereign to take decisive action against all revolutionary tendencies. Any sovereign making concessions to the masses undermines not only his own rights but also those of other rulers.

Ukrainian version:

Obov'yazok kozhnogo volodarya chynyty rishuchu protydiv vsim revolutsiynym techniam. Yakshcho volodar daye deyaki polegshennya masam, to vin pidryvaye ne tilky svoi vlasny prava, ale i prava inshykh panuyuchikh.

The religious motive behind the Vatican's drive against the international workers' movement was that "Christianity is incompatible (nesumisne) with socialism." The sincerity of this slogan is again vehemently denied by the author who points to the "Papal reactionary socialism" embodied in the church-sponsored Catholic trade unions and other organizations brought into being as a counter measure against genuine socialism and scientific Communism. The truth is, he claims, that the Vatican had always striven to protect the economic and social status quo of any given historical period and, failing in that, sought to replace it with something even more reactionary. Thus all through the medieval period the Church fought to preserve the existing feudal system, changing its tactics only when faced with the fait accompli of economic and social advancement. Since the 1917 October Revolution the dual policy pursued by the "Holy Fathers" (svyaty otsy) has been to uphold capitalism with all its evils, on the one hand, and to plot the eventual destruction of the USSR, on the other. Even now, it is argued, when peace-loving mankind has proved its undying hatred for fascism, Hitler's brand of national socialism and Japanese Shintoism, the Vatican's affinity for those social monstrosities are still manifested throughout the world.

The Church's animosity toward the Soviet Union is said to have reached a crescendo during the last world-wide depression of 1929-1933 under Pope Pius XI. Anxious to alleviate the economic situation of the capitalists "at the expense of the USSR" (za rakhunok Radyanskogo Soyuzu), the Pope published an open letter to Cardinal Pompilius in 1930 "...calling on the capitalist world to start a crusade against the land of the Soviets" (...zaklykav kapitalistychniy svit do khrestovogo pokhodu proty krainy rad). The attack was to be spearheaded by Ukrainians under the "ideological" inspiration of bourgeois-nationalism, and the Uniat brand of Catholicism was to serve as the spiritual guide of the crusaders. Nor was that idle talk on the part of Pius XI, according to Karmansky. An espionage-diversionist (shpigunsko-diversiyna) organization known as the Ukrainian Catholic Union (or UKS) was actually opened in Western Ukraine in charge of an Ukrainian nationalist and "super-spy" (obershpigun) Sheptitskiy whose duty it was to prepare the ground for an all-out Vatican-inspired attack on the Soviet Union. This contention is "supported" by a quotation from the organization's newspaper META (GOAL) which reportedly declared on 17 April 1932:

Ukrainian nationalism must be prepared to employ any method in the fight against Communism, not excluding mass physical extermination, even at the cost of millions of human lives.

Ukrainian version:

Ukrainskiy nationalism musyt buty prygotovanni na vsyaki zasoby borotby z komunizmom, ne vykluchayuchy masovoi fizychnoi eksterminatsii (znyshchennya) khocha b i zhertvoyu milyoniv ludskikh fizychnykh isnuvan.

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That the Vatican's policy is wedded to the concept of war of conquest has allegedly been manifested on numerous occasions beginning with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria through the present period of America's preparations "to dominate the world." Thus Japan's imperialist policies in China were welcomed by the Papal Nuncio in Berlin Pacelli (now Pius XII) as a possible portent of war against the Soviet Union. Catholic Church leaders at the same time were urged "to support the Fuehrer" (pidtrymaty Furera) of Germany and refrain from criticizing his "new order" under any circumstances. The same Pacelli is reported to have gone into raptures over the establishment of a fascist regime in Italy and declared that Mussolini "is the man sent by Providence" (ye ludineyu poslanoyu bozheskym provydinnyam) to save the country.

The Ukrainian question, it is claimed, still looms high in the Vatican's postwar plans. In his encyclical of 19 January 1946 issued on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Uniat Church, Pius XI listed the "advantages" (vygody) bestowed upon the Ukrainians by that creed and urged them "to do penance for the sin they had committed in 1939--the reunion with Soviet Ukraine--promising to wheedle out of God an absolution for the said misdemeanor." (Pokayatis u vchynenomu v 1939 rotsi griku--vozz'ednanni z Radyanskoi Ukrainoi--obitsyayuchi vyprosyty za tsei grikh proshchennya u boga).

The Church's present political orientation is said to differ very little from its previous philosophy which continues to be anti-Soviet and anti-Ukrainian. The only change that did occur was in its sponsorship. Since the United States is now "heading the camp of war," it was only natural for the Catholic hierarchy to align itself with the "new forces of reaction" in the hope of kindling up a new war against the USSR and the countries of People's Democracy. Hence the "united front" (edynyi front) of American "imperialism" and the Vatican. The Pope's eagerness to please his Anglo-American backers is seen also in the fact that

of the 32 new Cardinals ordained by the Pope in 1946 only 4 were Italians, the rest were American and English.

#### Ukrainian version:

Z 32 novykh kardynaliv, posvyashchennykh papoyu v v 1946 rotsi tilky 4 italiytsy, reshta--amerikantsy ta angliytsy.

The U.S. ruling class and even Pope Pius XII himself, Karmansky concludes, would now like to see Cardinal Spellman, "the loyal servant of Wall Street," succeed to the Papacy so that their "collusion against democracy" may be carried to fruition.

There is no intimation in the above-discussed brochure that the unrestrained attack on the Vatican is prompted by any other than the familiar Soviet motive which is to deflate the prestige of the Catholic Church among the West Ukrainian members of the Uniat Church.

#### IDEOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

The bulk of the available output on ideological themes in the second half of December comes from the non-Russian areas of the USSR, primarily the Ukraine, Daghestan and Lithuanian SSR. Most of them speak of the necessity of improving the qualitative make-up of the Party ranks, and an intensified political education program is suggested as the only means of achieving that end. Specific reference to Great Russian chauvinism and local nationalism is heard for the first time in a talk for political school students on 11 December. Referring to the difficulties encountered in the formation of the multinational Soviet State, the anonymous speaker says that the two major tendencies the Party had to deal with at the time were Great Russian chauvinism and local non-Russian nationalism:

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The Party conducted a relentless struggle against the Great Russian chauvinism which manifested itself in the disdainful attitude toward the non-Russian people and their culture ... The Party also conducted a resolute struggle against the deviation toward local nationalism which was manifested in the trend to segregate people, to isolate them and enclose them in a national shell of their own....

## Russian text:

Partia vela neprimirumuyu borbu protiv velikorusskogo shovinizma, vyrazhavshegosya v prenebrezhitelnom otonoshenii k nerusskim narodam, k ikh kulture, Partia vela takzhe reshitelnuyu borbu protiv uklona k mestonomu natsionalizmu, kotoriy vyrazhalsya v stremlenii raz'edenit narody, oboso-bitsya i zamknutsya v svoyu natsionalnuyu skorlupu...

Friendly cooperation and mutual assistance among the various Soviet nationalities would have been impossible, it is asserted, without the liquidation of Great Russian chauvinism and local nationalism. Although the above-quoted statement is made in historical context, the nationality and race theme is brought up to date with the assertion that the Hitler-invented race theory has been disproved in the USSR where all the nationalities enjoy equality and freedom.

Discussing the importance of Marxist-Leninist training of Party members, Secretary of the Daghestan Party Danialov says (12 December) that many an ideological shortcoming could have been eliminated and even forestalled had the Party been more alert to the proper dialectical orientation of its membership. It must be admitted (neobkhodimo priznat), however, that despite "the unprecedented upswing in our ideological life" (nebyvaliy podyom v ideiny zhizni) the Daghestan Party's attention to matters of ideology leaves much to be desired. The Secretary points out that the anti-Marxian and national-bourgeois interpretation of Daghestan's history still breaks into print here and there. "Bourgeois-objectivist distortions" (burzhu-azno-obyektivistskie izvrashchenia) are attributed to the works of certain local historians who have apparently not yet been cured of their anti-Soviet views on the nation's past. Cited as an example of "distorted historical facts" (iskazhenie istoricheskikh faktov) is Prof. Smirnov's 1952 brochure "The Reactionary Essence of Muridism and the Shamil Movement in the Caucasus" published under the auspices of the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political & Scientific Knowledge.

The professor is said to have stated among other things that czarism strove "to overcome the fanatic resistance of the mountainers ... by force of arms," and that their resistance was encouraged by the Moslem clergy and Turkish agents. Curiously enough, there is no attempt on Danialov's part to disprove the fact of czarist expansion into the Caucasus. He merely takes issue with Smirnov's interpretation which, in his opinion, should be modified to convey the idea that Russian domination per se was not necessarily unwelcome to the Caucasians and that whatever resistance they did offer had been aided and abetted from the outside--from Turkey and Great Britain:

First, it is incorrect to lump all the mountaineers into a single pile and thereby implicitly suggest that all of them offered fanatic resistance to Russia. Secondly, it is not enough to say that Muridism and the Shamil movements were merely encouraged by the enemies of Russia.

## Russian text:

Vo-pervykh, nepravilno valit vsekh gortsev v odnu kuchu, izobrazhaya delo tak, budto vse oni fanaticheski soprotivlyalis Russii. Vo-vtorykh, nedostatochno skazat, chto muridizm i dvizhenie Shamilya tolko podogrevalis vragami Rossii.

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Nor is it true that the Russian forces had pushed the Daghestan people into the mountainous interior of the Caucasus thereby allegedly "dooming them to a life of poverty and privation." The Russians, it is emphasized, never captured or settled a single Daghestan aoul (village), and the mountaineers were never pushed into the interior. This unfortunate misunderstanding need not have arisen but for the Party's failure "to expose in time" (vo-vremya vskryt) the serious errors and perversions that still crop up in history, literature and science. The ideological work in our Republic, Danialov concludes, must be substantially improved since "the survivals of the accursed past are still tenacious in the minds of certain backward people" (Perezhitki proklyatogo proshlago eshche zhivuchi v soznanii nekotorykh otstalykh ludey).

RADYANSKA UKRAINA (13 December) complains that lecture propaganda of Stalin's friendship of peoples, "particularly of the friendship of the Ukrainian and Great Russian peoples" (zokrema druzhbu ukrainskogo narodu z velykim rosiyskim narodom), is still far too inadequate. Political and ideological lecturing, it is pointed out, is for the most part entrusted to people of uncertain qualifications and the result is the familiar "low ideological level" (nyzkiy ideinyi riven). Political lectures, the paper says, must always be angled to expose (vykryvaty) Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalism and mongrel cosmopolitanism. Here too the personnel-training program is said to be largely at fault, especially in the rural areas. The editorial does not list any special details, however, beyond the remark that cultural and political-educational work in a number of unnamed places has been neglected to such an extent that many clubs, libraries and reading rooms have been turned into stores, grain-storage places and warehouses.

Pursuing the theme on 18 December, the paper declares that lack of control from above has brought about a situation where communist political students no longer care to widen their own theoretical horizon. It is the direct duty (pryamaya obyazannost) of every Party committee to see that the rank and file Communists master "a minimum knowledge in the sphere of Marxism-Leninism" (minimum znanie v oblasti Marxizma-Leninizma). But ideological training, the paper continues, is obviously not on the agenda of the Kursk and Vologda oblast Party Committee which until recently preferred to avoid that issue altogether. Similar weaknesses are reported to have been revealed in Tashkent and Fergana oblasts where the Communist Party is doing "a poor supervisory job" in the ideological training of their own personnel. The "historic" documents produced by the 19th Party Congress must be studied seriously and thoroughly, and only in that way will the Party be able to "conduct a resolute struggle against the dogmatic, scholastic and superficial approach" (vestia reshitelnuyu borbu protiv dogmaticheskogo, nachetnitseskogo and poverkhnostnogo podkhoda) to things ideological. Stalin's heavily-publicized article on the economic problems of socialism in the USSR is urged as "must" reading matter for every Communist and candidate for Party membership.

Dogmatism, scholasticism and irresponsibility are referred to also as characterizing the ideological activities of certain Crimean Party committees. The lecturing propaganda at Yalta, Feodosia and Kerch is, according to KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA (16 Dec.) anything but "high level." The ideological tasks outlined by the 19th Party Congress are not being fulfilled, and "a sharp improvement" (rezkoye uluchshenie) in the quality of lectures should now become the focus of Party attention.

In a long PRAVDA article of 22 December (not broadcast), the Lithuanian Party boss Snehkus says that although much work has already been done in the Republic to expose "the aggressive activities of the American imperialists and their Lithuanian bourgeois-nationalist servitors...", there is still much to be done in that direction. The blasting of these counter-revolutionaries, the Secretary avers, is not pursued with sufficient vigor in the Party's political education network. We must always remember, he says that "any weakening of the influence of socialist ideology means a strengthening of bourgeois ideology." Snehkus does not mention any specific names or places but his allusion to the continued existence of ideological weaknesses in the Republic is seen in the warning to all Party Committees against any relaxation of political vigilance:

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It is our duty to intensify our efforts toward the exposure of the slightest manifestations of bourgeois-nationalist ideology, and to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward it.

## Russian text:

Nash dolg - usilit rabotu po razoblacheniu maleishikh proyavleniy bourzhuzazno-natsionalisticheskoy ideologii, cozdad atmosferu neterpimosti x po otnosheniu k nei.

Recommended also is a little more attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of the Lithuanian intelligentsia not all of whom, it is implicitly admitted, have as yet embraced the Soviet doctrine:

... the conciliatory attitude of certain officials toward the survival of bourgeois-nationalist ideology as well as the un-Marxian attitude of certain comrades toward the old intelligentsia ... present a grave obstacle in the matter of Marxist-Leninist education of the intelligentsia.

## Russian text:

...seryoznym tormozom v dele marxistko-leninskogo vospitania kadrov intelligentsii yavlyayutsya primirenoeskoye otnoshenie ryada rabotnikov k pereshitkam bourzhuzazno-natsionalisticheskoy ideologii, a takzhe nemarksistskoye otnoshenie nekotorykh tovarishchei k staroi intelligentsii...

It is inadmissible, Snechkus continues, that even at this date certain university professors should be truckling to foreign influences (preklonenie pered inostranshchinoy) and stick to the outworn theories of Morgan and Mendel. Bourgeois "objectivism," it is claimed, is still discernible in a number of university lectures because the faculties of the higher institutions of learning have not been imbued with the spirit of intolerance toward ideological perversions.

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